/566 cont./

23| to his master who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

bring himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog... The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM:XV, 250; 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" ●[52a] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of in bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames 551 that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of 609 our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

wéngel (wéngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapíla (téila, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

úkrélél (úkri "forehead"; lun, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

úkrélyágu (úkri, "forehead"; yágu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitówa (BD:118 ufkitáuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakáci (yakáci, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; 522 some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hallmuwa (hallmuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hallmuwakipa.

pécesáklan (pécca, "behind"; aklan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wáxkrúdánja (wáxkri, "vulva mulieris"; [d]ánja, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

/T32 cont./

551 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well
522 as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence used very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 --- At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

174. According to Bridges (i):38, "three clases of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.

"Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lesape, Alaminaea, Palahlaian, Maacol, Cushchin...

"The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.

Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

/787 cont./

857 S24 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Tamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tšiaykmaľe: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as tsiaykmaľe in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others may move or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and reposedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

857 S24 S33 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tšiaykmaľe. Even the oldest women, such as Feine, Emilie, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it so he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 S24 Tumuhtše: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or the

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres- 201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "hhh."

516 It is not only impolite but very serious to poke fun at anyone 519 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their relatives at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.

• 522 Since the Yamana /1015/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 519 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1933, I had sent a boat from Douglas Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gerrie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's idiomatic accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /unreviewed/) of the Tekinika /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

1: Gusinde--926 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

/1016 cont./
G2 S76 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 S74 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

> 435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1022 cont./

521 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fantrook, a black bird, pacing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

521 283 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On in trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1022/. traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

523 [71] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

/1023 cont./

harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says pensively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group at, suddenly and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1369 cont./

spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Hánuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1381/ Makemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Makemikens himself.

/1470 cont./

D6 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 367-387, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (z):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

S33 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who
B8 enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults
S22 will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alikanlis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ináwlar, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which disfigure the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p. 580), is called hanaywéteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tauwéla, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanarwéremega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

S34 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is
S33 true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umíku, certainly cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the